1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

and sale of tobacco products; the Customs Department; all these likewise were of no direct concern to the Wali. The same applies to the rare public works entrusted to the wilaya engineer, and to the Department of Pious Bequests (Awqaf) The Wali could venture on no official interference in the Oman-Ottoman Administration, none in the favoured Saniya. The last-named had, by 1900, acquired for its master by favourable 'purchase' almost one-third of the cultivable lands of Baghdad wilaya, and very large estates in Baṣra and Mosul.

The VIth Army, whose territorial area was coterminus with 'Iraq, was reckoned as the least excellent of the main Turkish formations. It consisted of two divisions of infantry, a cavalry division, and a formation of artillery. The units of every arm were widely scattered, and constantly changed station according to the needs of the tribal warfare. Transport was hired for the occasion, supply and medical arrangements were primitive, equipment was shabby and deficient. The staffs and organization of the Army were in general those of modern forces; but the troops were misused, discipline was lax, pay irregular. Service with the Army was by conscription, from which non-Muslims and many classes of Muslims were free on payment; tribesmen were wholly exempt. Compulsory service was commonly prolonged beyond the legal three-year period, and this, with the liability to be sent to a grave in the Yaman or Europe, combined to make conscription of all Turkish institutions the most resented. Nevertheless, no Arab province supplied more officers to the Turkish Army, or of higher standard, than did 'Iraq.

The Navy at Baṣra, a puny and decayed service, was commanded by a commodore. Its ostensible duty was that of river police, in which it signally failed. With a shore establishment of some two hundred, its only craft in 1900 were an ancient corvette unable to leave its moorings, the *Kilid al-Bahr*, and a small armed paddle-steamer, the *Alus*.

This Turkish Government of 'Iraq, at whose task, evolution, and organization we have now glanced, had irreproachable nominal objectives—order, progress, and public advantage. Its regulations were comprehensive and repeatedly revised: its administrators contained men of education, experience, and knowledge of local conditions. It was, nevertheless, severely criticized by its own servants and not less by outside observers. Excessively centralized, it was bound by a thousand ill-applicable rules which precluded local initiative; it was ill-served, ill-housed, ill-equipped, and incapable of maintaining forces adequate to its clearest needs. It lacked a breed of loyal and vigorous men able to grasp the essentials of ruling a backward tribal territory, and trusted by their superiors.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

ended in 1923, a demand for participation in public life as equals in patriotism, in intelligence, and in wealth—and as numerical superiors—was inevitable; nor could it long be satisfied by a small minority of Government posts and the usual single seat in the Cabinet. It could count upon a section of the intelligentsia now growing up, upon the powerful and sect-conscious Shi'i bloc of mid-Euphrates tribes, upon the rich, land-hungry, ambitious, and highly political Sayids of that area, and upon what was left—it was not negligible—of Mujtahid influence. An episode of early 1927, the publication of a book unfriendly to Shi'ism by a Sunni schoolmaster, began a sequence of events which involved ministerial intervention as well as war to the knife in the higher circles of the Ministry of Education. The political world was divided, in a day, by a Sunni–Shi'i dichotomy; meetings of indignant demand for Shi'i rights were held in Baghdad and the Holy Cities, enlivened by a wealth of inflammatory stories of Sunni oppression, and the Nahdha Party, short-lived in 1922, was revived under almost exclusively Shi'i leadership. The presentation by the Cabinet to Parliament of a National Defence Bill—in effect, a demand for conscription—redoubled Shi'i anti-Government agitation. Their representative minister, Sayid 'Abd al-Mahdi, promptly resigned, and the support of the Kurds in opposing the threat of conscription was enlisted. 'Abd al-Mahdi was replaced at Education by Amin Zaki, and the latter at Irrigation and Agriculture by the Shi'i 'Alwan al-Yasiri. The Prime Minister secured an adjournment of Parliament in time to save his Government; but it led only to the transfer of the main political activity from Baghdad to the Euphrates. The Minister of Finance was boycotted when on tour in Najf, and it needed all the King's tact and generosity to prevent grave consequences from a violent scuffle which occurred in Kadhimiya on the ever-dangerous 10th of Muharram between 'Iraqi troops and Shi'i worshippers. The two Shi'i ministers now in the Cabinet were both anathema to the Nahdha Party. The latter organized demonstrations in Karbalā and Najf, and inspired articles in its newspapers so savage as to lead Yasin Pasha, as acting Prime Minister, to suppress it. When his action was questioned, he resigned, and in this step was followed shortly by Rashid 'Ali al-Gaylani. The year ended with Shi'ism dangerously militant and the Government gravely weakened. On 7 January 1927 Ja'far Pasha resigned.

The conscription issue was a second dominant interest of the time. The need to strengthen 'Iraq militarily was implicit in its claim to be sole master in its own house. Was conscription the solution? The High Commissioner, consulted, replied in effect 'Certainly, if 'Iraq desires it, but not if it must involve enforcement

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

by British troops, who will decline the task.' The National Service Bill, introduced into Parliament, met the urgent Shi'i and Kurdish opposition already described. Detested by Shi'ism and dreaded by the little-considered man-in-the-street, the project became the darling of the 'Iraqi press which saw in British caution a proof of their sinister desire to keep 'Iraq weak and helpless. Successive Cabinets were in doubt whether to drop the project amid the scorn of newspaper patriots and the Army itself, or to press it to the point of probable explosion with Shi'i and Kurd.

Under the Treaty of January 1926 the question of 'Iraq's membership of the League was to be reviewed in January 1928 and thereafter four-yearly. The British Government notified 'Iraq in July 1927 that it would consider a recommendation for such membership in 1932, but not in 1928; but this, disappointing as it was to eager 'Iraqi statesmen, did not preclude attempts to obtain a better interim status. Conversations were held in London late in 1927. The King, the Prime Minister and other ministers, and the High Commissioner participated in these with Colonial Office spokesmen; and, after a position approaching deadlock had been reached, terms were agreed. A new Treaty was signed by Ja'far Pasha and Mr. Ormsby-Gore on 14 December. Its validity, subject to approval by the League Council as well as by the 'Iraq Parliament, was dependent also on a revision of the Military and Financial Agreements.

The new Treaty marked a certain, but no great, advance. It admitted that the 1922 and 1926 Treaties had been already in a measure superseded by events, notably that of 'Iraq's own progress; it treated 'Iraq explicitly as an independent sovereign State, and dealt with its internal and international obligations as such; and by its terms the British Government undertook to support 'Iraq's candidature for League membership in 1932 'provided the present rate of progress in 'Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval'. It was largely by reason of this proviso that the draft Treaty was coldly greeted in 'Iraq by almost all political elements.

It formed, nevertheless, part of the inheritance assumed by the Ministry which, under 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Sa'dun, succeeded that of Ja'far Pasha on 14 January 1928: a Ministry which included two Shi'is, a Christian, and a body of experienced politicians. The moderate and experienced ex-Mutaṣarrif 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Qaṣṣab was at Interior, Ḥikmat Sulayman at Justice, the Christian economist and business man Yusif Ghanima at Finance, the Najf banker Muḥsin al-Shallash at Works, and another shrewd and experienced Shi'i, Salman Barrak of Ḥilla, as Minister of Irrigation and Agriculture. Naji al-Suwaydi's clever and progressive younger brother, Tawfiq, came to the Ministry of Education, and

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

744 The Health Department, criticized for an unprecedented malaria
361 epidemic in Baghdad in 1936, seemed to call for reform and for a
631 broader activity which should include the rural and backward
466 areas as well as the towns. The period was one of many municipal
554 improvements and considerable building and town-planning. Electric power and light, widened streets, a modern water-supply, improved conservancy, municipal gardens—these were now features of all but the humblest *baladiyas*. It was, indeed, the policy of Yasin Pasha to encourage the devolution of the local services into municipal hands, and funds were provided accordingly; later Prime Ministers followed his example. The passage into law of a Labour Code in 1936 reflected pressure on Government to insist, at least ostensibly, on something of modern standards in the treatment of industrial workers; but the Code had for the moment little practical effect. A law of 1935 prohibiting non-'Iraqis from practising certain trades seemed to threaten domiciled Indians, and was suitably amended and scarcely enforced. The 1936 law abolishing, under severe penalties, the use of Turkish titles—Pasha, Bey, and Effendi—in favour of the simple Arabic 'Sayid'—Master, or Mr.—was widely ignored among the general public and by Europeans, as indeed by Ministers themselves and by others in authority.

671 The application of the National Service Law, passed in 1934,
184 devolved upon the Hashimi Ministry and could not but be imper-
702 fect. Wide tribal areas were in practice exempt; the accessible and the weak were exploited. Armed resistance, as has been seen, was not infrequent, desertion was common, and the payment of a low exemption fee to escape service was habitual. The machinery of recruitment was inefficient, census lists inaccurate, and the resulting military forces habitually below their authorized strength.
701 Nevertheless, the 'Iraq Army, with its British Military Mission constantly in support, improved its training and equipment and its housing facilities, and was highly favoured by King Ghazi. Increasing from some 11,500 men in 1933 to double that number by the end of 1936, it was now organized in two divisions and, territorially, into four districts. Its armament and capacity were sufficient for internal purposes, its corps of officers good in the lower, indifferent or poor in the higher ranks. Unused on any operations in 1934—a unique event—the Army was busy with tribal suppression in the two years following, and was shortly to
707 emerge as the arbiter of 'Iraq's political destinies. The Royal 'Iraq Air Force grew from a few machines to three formed squadrons.
701 The small surviving force of 'Iraq Levies, some 1,500 strong, was now specialized to aerodrome-guard duties under R.A.F. Command, and the Assyrian monopoly therein had been broken

by the recruitment of Kurdish and Arab companies.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

decide what should be taught and then the educators can decide how it should be taught.

In the villages, the school buildings could sometimes serve as models for house-building; in any case, every school should in itself be a lesson in hygiene. Well-balanced meals are provided in the boarding schools and serve as examples for the home. Possibly the elder girls could be taught some "mothercraft", the treatment of minor ailments (cuts, abrasions, etc.), some sewing and also some domestic economy.

At present the *School Medical Service* is administered by the Ministry of Education and has a staff of 20 doctors and four dentists. In the school year 1949-50, 147,084 pupils were examined revealing splenomegaly among two percent, schistosomiasis in five percent, and trachoma in 25 percent, while 40,767 attendances were made for dental treatments. To carry out an effective program for treatment of trachoma, more school nurses will be needed.

There are several *other groups* through which health education can be disseminated. Police training schools and prisons, including reformatories, offer good opportunities for teaching health. The Central Prison in Baghdad is a good example of cleanliness and orderliness. The Army should teach in its officer training courses that the promotion and maintenance of the health of an officer's unit is his first duty.

A few voluntary societies are now undertaking some health education, but the scope of their work could be greatly increased, particularly in maternal and child welfare and in the prevention of tuberculosis. Special pronouncements could be prepared by religious societies for reading in the mosques (e.g. against the pollution of water supplies as a measure to limit the spread of schistosomiasis). Simple health notes written in the vernacular would be of help where a local newspaper is published. Short talks could be given from the national broadcasting station.

There is a great opportunity for health teaching in the projected new settlements. The staff required for such work are medical assistants, sanitary overseers, midwives and possibly public health nurses who, after having received appropriate training, will work in and from one or more village health centers.

4s Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Yazidis MH 10

The Yezidis in 'Iraq practically all dwell either in the Sinjār or Shaikhān districts. Each of these districts has a brass peacock and that belonging to Shaikhān must never cross the Tigris. If it did so the world would come to an end! Non-Yezidis cannot view the peacocks or the other sacred emblems, which include the "shema'dan" or candlestick and the "bairaqs" or banners. When not touring, all emblems are kept at the residence of the *Mir* at Baa'dhra in Shaikhān, though a few years ago the Sinjār Yezidis, who were at variance with the *Mir*, seized their peacock and collected subscriptions on their account until compelled by Government to return it to its lawful keeper. Yezidis object strongly to the use of the word "Shaitān" (Satan) or any word resembling it. Terms meaning "curse" are also never used less Satan construes them as a tactless reminder of his fall.

Owing to these difficulties and restrictions, Yezidis are not "good mixers" and rarely enter Government service. A few were formerly employed by the British Government in the transport company of the 'Iraq Levies, but did not prove very satisfactory. Occasionally they have enlisted in the 'Iraq army, but an attempt to apply a light measure of conscription to the Sinjār Yezidis resulted in an armed revolt by five villages. This necessitated punitive action with, unfortunately, heavy casualties on both sides. The Yezidis speak a form of Kurdish, but many also know Arabic. Ain Sifni or Ain-i-Safina (Spring of the Boat) is the chief market town of the Shaikhān Yezidis. It derives its name from a tradition that the Ark touched ground there.

Yezidis are to be found outside 'Iraq in the Caucasus and also a few thousand north of Aleppo.

It is difficult to believe that this curious religion can long survive in 'Iraq under present-day conditions. The *Mir* is unpopular and there is no better successor amongst his in-bred and degenerate relatives. The Yezidis have recently refused to yield him many of his former rights and have severely criticised his squandering of the religious revenues. Most of the members of the hierarchy have concentrated their energies on trying to divert funds to their own pockets and have quarrelled furiously. A certain number of stalwarts have defied the priests and attended schools. In the Sinjār prior to the Great War religious pressure induced a considerable number of Yezidis to adopt Islam, and it is within the bounds of possibility that ere long there may be a regular landslide to either the Christian or Islamic faith or both.

44:Matthews and Akrawi 8,G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
Iraq MHI

Chapter 10

SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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UNDER OTTOMAN rule Iraq had secondary schools for boys in Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah, Kirkuk, and Sulaymaniyah. These schools prepared students for advanced study in Istanbul or to enter the Law College in Baghdad. Most students who went to Istanbul attended the Military College; others entered the colleges of medicine, law, or civil administration.

After World War I secondary education developed slowly, the first classes being started in Baghdad, Mosul, and Basrah in 1920 and the first graduation taking place in 1924. It was 1930 before secondary classes for girls were started in the same cities. After the passing of the Education Law of 1929, the secondary course was lengthened from four to five years, with an intermediate stage of three years and a senior stage of two years, each stage concluding with public examinations.

Although coeducation is spreading in the primary schools and is an accomplished fact in all the higher institutions except the College of Engineering, it does not exist at the secondary-school level. The somewhat rapid expansion of secondary-school education for girls and the shortage of women teachers have compelled the Ministry of Education to use men teachers to complete the staffs of some girls schools. Except in one or two localities this practice has not met with opposition, and it has allowed a more rapid development of secondary schools for girls than would otherwise have been possible.

All public secondary schools in the country are now under the jurisdiction of the provincial directors, who inspect them administratively and are responsible for their equipment and general operation. The Director General of Education, however, controls the distribution, appointment, and transfer of secondary-school teachers, since it is considered necessary, at least for the present, for a central agency to distribute teachers according to their specialties and according to the needs of the individual schools.

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The Iraqi Military Service Law exempts secondary-school and college

44:Mathews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Mi Middle East
Iraq MHI

students until graduation, after which they receive nine months of training as reserve officers instead of having to serve two years as privates, as do nonstudents. The application of this law has considerably popularized secondary education. The resulting expansion of schools at this level is not so apparent in the public secondary schools for boys, as expansion is controlled by budgetary limitations, but the effect upon private and foreign schools has been pronounced. In 1944–45 these private and foreign secondary schools for boys numbered 47 as compared with 50 public secondary schools for boys. Thus, it is apparent that the private secondary schools are competing with the public system. The Military Service Law brought into the public secondary school many inferior students whose principal interest was escape and who failed in their studies repeatedly. To avert the danger of having the public schools filled with laggards who lowered the standards and often became behavior problems, it was ruled that a student who failed the same grade twice should be dropped. Many of these failures from the public-school system contributed to the expansion of the private schools, which tend to have somewhat flexible standards.

Except for a short interval the Ministry of Education has maintained evening secondary-school classes since 1924. However, private night schools have become more numerous than the government ones.

Secondary Education

Secondary schools are governed by the Public Secondary School Regulations, which have undergone many revisions since they were first issued in 1930. The latest revision took place in 1944.

These regulations divide the secondary schools into the three-year intermediate course and the two-year preparatory course and empower the Ministry of Education to open evening classes in secondary schools and to establish boarding sections in provincial capitals for impoverished bright students. The regulations make the public examinations the basis for admission to foreign and private as well as to public secondary schools, and in the event that more students apply for admission to the intermediate section than can be accommodated, selection is made on the basis of preference being given to public primary-school graduates. Fees are set at 3 dinars ($12) for the intermediate school and 4 dinars ($16) for the preparatory school, yearly, payable in two installments. However, students having one brother or sister in secondary or higher schools pay only half the fees, those having two brothers or sisters in these schools pay one-

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Mi Middle East
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section. This policy is likely to remain in force until the Ministry of Education has enough women teachers to permit establishing a girls secondary school in each province.

Vocational Education

Iraq has a variety of postprimary schools aside from the regular intermediate and secondary schools and the institutions which train teachers for secondary schools. These special schools are designed to fill the country's need for skilled workers—mechanical, clerical, and professional—and range from simple trade schools, requiring only a public primary-school certificate for admission, to the College of Law and the Royal College of Medicine. Because of the shortage of trained workers and professional people, the government offers training in these institutions free, in most cases, to qualified applicants. (The colleges preparing professional workers will be described in the next chapter.)

Technical Schools

Technical education on a trade-school level is provided in Baghdad, Mosul, and Kirkuk for boys who have passed the public primary-school examinations. This is a four-year course, and the schools at Baghdad and Mosul have a registration of approximately 100 boys each. The school at Kirkuk was opened in the fall of 1945. Provision has been made for 400 boarding students at Baghdad; but since these facilities are in excess of the present enrollment, they are being utilized by boys from the Commercial High School and by students in the preparatory year of the Higher Teachers College. No fees are charged, and boarding students receive clothing and laundry service as well as board and room without charge. The Mosul school has no boarding students at present, though facilities are available.

In spite of such favorable provisions, enrollment in these schools is low. The advantages offered seem to be in large part nullified by the Compulsory Military Service Law which does not treat the graduates of vocational schools in the same way as those of secondary schools but requires them to spend two years in the military service as privates. Students, therefore, prefer to go to secondary schools because after graduation they can enter the reserve officers training course of nine months.

The school at Mosul provides training in weaving, carpentry, machine-shop practice, motor-car repair, and electrical wiring. During each of the first and second years twenty-two hours per week are devoted to theoretical work, and twenty hours are spent in the shops. The student in his first

4: Barth E 5 (1951) 1953 MA1 Iran
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Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Meskjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Meskjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Meskjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Meskjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Meskjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Comission, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, 171
and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described 619
by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal *exo*gamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other 619
hand, the general practice of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

16: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAI Iran
Kurd MAII
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Government unpopularity among the tribes. May describes the gendarmerie of his time as "hardened ruffians without training and without principles; they used their authority to commit innumerable extortions". It does not appear that the position is much changed today.

"Below the Mudir there should be in each village a Mukhtar, his functions being basically those of registrar and tax collector. Among the hill Kurds the Mukhtar is invariably the Agha of the village concerned and the term is little used.

This summarises briefly the normal functions of the various elements of Government within the area under discussion. A more dynamic view of the interaction between Government and tribe will emerge in the course of what follows.

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* Iraq has had conscription since Turkish times and nominally all Kurds are liable for military service. It is part of the duties of the Mukhtar to record births and report to the Mudir the names of those liable for service. Until very recently however no real records have been kept, so to avoid military service it was merely necessary to produce suitable presents for the right people at the right moment. Contrarywise military service provides the Agha with a convenient means of getting rid of undesirable characters. That at least summarises the position as outlined to me by my interpreter. But I obtained no figures as to the actual numbers conscripted.